MAN!

"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought--Let It Crack--WENDELL PHILLIPS

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WHO CAN STOP THE WAR?

Amidst the barrage of statements and facts flung and concocted during the last fortnight, it becomes difficult to retain one's sense of perception and calm. Yet, it is necessary for us to make our point of view regarding the ensuing slaughter as clear as possible.

Naturally, the first question which arises in our minds is that pertaining to the reason for the outbreak. What are the causes of this, the second world war?

Mr. Chamberlain assured the world that:

"We have a clear conscience . . . . We have done all that any country could do to establish peace . . . . I trust that I may live to see the day When Hitlerism has been destroyed and a restored and liberated Europe has been established. . . . Now may God bless you all and may he defend the right."

Mr. Daladier stated:

"The cause of France is the cause of justice. It is the cause of all peaceful and free nations . . . . We are fighting to defend our land, our homes, our liberty."

Mr. Hitler said:

"The Lord God, who always has given grace to him who was determined to help himself, will also stand by me."

So, it is clear that both sides are appealing to God, the unknown and unseen. This appeal explains more suitably than anything else how beclouded and muddled are the issues involved and how untrue are the claims of both sides.

The treaty of Versailles, dictated by the victorious imperialists of France and Great Britain, laid the foundation for this new war. But that was to be expected. The League of Nations, which followed in the shadows of the Versailles treaty, was a fraudulent scheme through which the victors played their game of retaining their spoils.

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In thinking over the different forms of government through which Germany passed before Hitler's arrival, one finds that most of them were tinged with socialism. And, if there is anything which is hated by the financial interests of world powers, it surely is the word socialism. Its very mention throws them all into a fit of frenzy and fear.

Thus, it came about that the financiers began to shop around and look for an individual who could head a movement that would be under their power and control in Germany. Adolf Hitler fitted their requirements to perfection; the scoundrel for the job was found. Unlimited finances were placed at his disposal. And from the saloons and brothels of the underworld, Hitler gathered the scum of Germany which enthroned him and themselves as the ruling clique over sixty million people.

This was nothing new, for the financial lords had played the same card in 1923 when they put Benito Mussolini as the ruler in Italy—thus crushing the march of anarchist-communism and anarcho-syndicalism.

Having succeeded so well with the Frankenstein whom they have installed in Italy, the financial powers felt sure that Hitler would be a "safe and sane" monster for their purpose. For a while he was. The little Frankenstein, however, turned the tables in a short time. And soon the very same financial lords were serving him large platters of appeasement policy.

An economic factor was, in reality, the chief concern of the makers of the Versailles treaty. With a subjugated people the dictators manage to produce merchandise cheaper, and thus succeeded to make more and more inroads in the world markets. Unemployment everywhere was the result. An artificial prosperity was needed in order to give capitalism a new lease of life. War has always proven itself as the easiest method by which to achieve this.

The armament race began as no government lost any time preparing ammunition and other war materials. The war lords, in this period of artificial prosperity, began their insidious campaign to have the people demand war upon the puppet frankenstein. The harlots of the press, the treacherous misleaders of labor and the agents of "God" did their job to such perfection that the real spokesmen of the financiers—Chamberlain and company—were made to appear as propagating for peace and the people as clamoring for war. The devil himself could not have done a better job!

So, when we learn that Chamberlain sends aeroplanes to drop millions of leaflets over Germany in order to tell the people that the war is not against them but against Hitler, he is not telling the truth. It is the people of Germany who are being massacred—not Hitler, who rides around in an armored car. In the same way, it is the people of France and Great Britain who are being slaughtered—not Chamberlain and Daladier, who sit safely in their mansions and issue orders.

When their spokesmen camouflage their real purposes and intentions with the words "freedom and justice," they know that they are lying deliberately. Freedom and justice have never and cannot play any part in any war. Rather, hatred, intolerance and the wildest sort of chauvinism are the real weapons utilized to the utmost in behalf of the financial interests who rule the world today.

Are we exaggerating when we accuse Chamberlain and Daladier of being two of the agents who are serving and aiding the financial powers of the world? Let us take the case of Spain. Who really financed and engineered the counter-revolution against the people of Spain? The well known Washington correspondents, Drew Parson and Robert S. Allen, give us the answer. They write:

"It is now an open secret that when General Franco flew from the Canary Islands to start Spain's bloody civil war, a British pilot, a British plane and British money carried him. British business, worried over its iron and tin mines in Spain, and over the radical policies of the Spanish republican government, was determined to crush that government."

—Los Angeles Daily News, Aug. 31, 1939.

This revelation is no surprising news to us. It is part of the political game. No one could dare deny that neither Mussolini nor Hitler could have lasted more than a few months had the financial interests and the "democracies" wanted it to be so.

Pathetic and ridiculous, too, were the appeals made by President Roosevelt.

The "peacemakers" are trying to make a joke of a sad disastrous situation.

The people, who pay with their very lives for the whims of their rulers, have little to hope for from labor leaders, socialists and communists. In France, these three categories of self-proclaimed friends of the people have already given their whole-hearted support to the new world slaughter. In all appearances, the same has taken place in Germany and Great Britain. As far as Russia is concerned, its recent handshake with Hitler, who has butchered thousands of German rebels, speaks for itself.

As long as the people of the countries which are or will be involved in this war continue to submit to the system under which their lives, security, well being and happiness are sacrificed at the mercy of the imperialistic whims and desires of the financial despots of the world, the slaughter of human beings who are made to kill each other for no conceivable reason to them will go on.

No, the leaflets dropped over Germany—at the order of Chamberlain—will not stop the war. The people themselves, through the simple procedure of dropping their guns and ammunition on the battlefields and by refusing to manufacture war materials and provisions, can stop the war. Only the people, through determination, can guide their energies in the construction of a new world—a world in which no place can be found for any form of exploitation of others, a world in which no form of rulership will fit. In place of the institutions known as the state and private property, man will build a voluntary association of all people—regardless of race, creed or color.

The sooner is this worthy desire and hope made a realization and an actuality by the people who suffer and bear the brunt of the folly of the ruling few, that much the sooner shall be seen the end of the black forces of reaction, despair, destruction and unhappiness symbolic of the present order.

The Charlie McCarthy of Capitalism

From a drawing of Sattler by D. C.

The War Spirit

I hate that drum's discordant sound,
Parading round and round and round;
To thoughtless youth it pleasure yields,
And lures from cities, farms and fields,
To sell their liberties for charms
Of tawdry lace and glittering arms,
And, when the ambitious voice commands,
To march, and fight and fall in foreign lands.
I hate that drum's discordant sound,
Parading round and round and round;
To me it speaks of ravaged plains,
Of burning towns and ruined swains;
Of mangled forms and broken bones;
Of widow's tears and orphan's moans,
And all that misery's hand bestows
To swell the catalogue of human woes.

—Thomas PAINE

(From "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry" edited by Marcus Graham.)

WAR

I never see a soldier's uniform, but what I also see
Wives and mothers in drab black, staring with listless, tear-drained eyes.
And maimed buildings and raped earth, heaped in rows of little mounds,—
Babies taught to hate,
And ore, blood of earth, chilling as it darts like a dagger through the air;
Ocean waves obliterating young life and hope,
And fat millionaires on downy beds.

Marie HARLOWE

NEUTRALITY AND THE PEOPLE

"I cannot prophesy the immediate economic effects of this new war on our nation, but I do say that no American has the moral right to profiteer at the expense either of his fellow citizens or of the men, women and children who are living and dying in the midst of war in Europe."

—From President Roosevelt's Radio Address, Sept. 3, 1939.

In all general appearances, these words pronounced by the President of the United States are eloquent and admirable. The statement, however, would have been truly admirable had the word PROFIT, rather than profiteer, been used. In that case, one would have expected Mr. Roosevelt to pursue a straightforward course that would keep this country completely out of the new European war.

Unfortunately, there are too many proofs to the contrary, proofs telling us that we shall not keep out of this world slaughter for long.

Mr. Marquis W. Childs in the St. Louis Post Dispatch writes, in part, as follows:

"Washington, Aug. 30.—The extent to which the Government here has prepared . . . for the possible entry of the United States into . . . war is gradually becoming known as various departments of the Government speed up their emergency plans. The Treasury Department . . . has worked out in some detail plans for the first Liberty loan drive . . . Likewise, the most complete plans are ready for industrial mobilization under the War Industries Board recently named. Edward R. Settinius Jr., head of United States Steel is chairman of this board. In the event of war he would become virtual dictator over American industry . . . Intensive preparations . . . have been under way since the Munich crisis of last September. Virtually every Government department has been involved in these preparations in one way or another."

This news story varies strangely with the assurance given the people of this country by the President when he said, in his recent radio address:

"As long as it remains within my power to prevent, there will be no blackout of peace in the United States."

Yet, the war preparations being made by the army and navy are known by all of us. The social security act, with its registration of workers, is most certainly being utilized for selecting the soldiers for this country. These are only a few of the government's plans and schemes for preparing this country to enter the war.

Following his radio address to the American people, President Roosevelt issued this stringent order:

"I request all police officers, sheriffs and all other law enforcement officers in the United States to turn over to the nearest representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any information relating to espionage, counter-espionage, sabotage, subversive activities and violations of the neutrality laws."

From this we can see how readily we are being maneuvered into war. And we can well imagine how rapidly any form of freedom of expression will be wiped out under the order of "subversive activities"!

The Los Angeles Times of Sept. 7, 1939, quotes the New York Times, organ of Wall Street, as saying:

"Within the past ten days the President has discussed the calling of a special session with some of his close friends . . . At the same time he is said to believe that Americans generally will realize soon that the conflict is not as remote as it might appear, and that they have a direct and tangible stake in the outcome . . . The submarine attack on the steamer Athenia was cited . . . similar incidents would quickly bring America's reaction to the boiling point."

What is really "at stake" for the people of the United States in the present European conflict? An answer to this query is offered by Chester Rowell in his column in the issue of Sept. 4, 1939, of the arch republican newspaper, San Francisco Chronicle:

"If war breaks out in Europe, contracts of enormous value, especially for airplanes, will become worthless at once, by the automatic operation of this law . . . The same will happen to other industries, American enterprise will be deprived of a huge and increasing business, with eager customers, with ready cash, beating at doors bolted against them by a law of Congress. And Congress will be called in special session, with a request by the President, to unbolt those doors."

These, then, are the principles "at stake." PROFITS TO BE DERIVED FROM MURDERING OUR FELLOWMEN AND ULTIMATELY OURSELVES AND OUR DEAR ONES . . . ALL FOR THE SAKE OF THE MERCHANTS OF DEATH!

In the meantime, the press, radio, religious and political spokesmen, all in the employ of the same merchants of death, will not be told the truth. Instead, they will be coached to learn and repeat phrases about "freedom and justice." And through these lies the people of the United States will be led into war. This is a clear repetition of the last war which was "to make the world safe for democracy."

Several years ago the Nye Committee was appointed to investigate the causes that led this country into the last war. The Committee published its findings, the essential parts of which appeared in a letter written by Senator Gerald P. Nye and published in the issue of Sept. 4, 1939 of Time magazine. The letter states:

"Very definite is the evidence recorded by the Committee that the Morgan firm did operate in a way to circumvent American neutrality and steps that were intended to keep us out of the European war . . . The evidence fortified the conclusions drawn up on page 96 of the report; namely, that the bankers were inextricably tied up in the vicious circle that included the British government, the rifle industry in the United States and the American Banking Organization . . . "

The facts, quotations and statements we have presented should most eloquently furnish the reasons for the American people's absolute refusal to engage itself in any European war. We have shown, by a few of many facts and citations, that the people of this country were dragged into the last war solely because of the ambitions and interests of the financial lords who, through every conceivable means at their command, are preparing to drag us anew into another conflict.

President Roosevelt assures us that:

"The overwhelming masses of our people seek peace . . . "

In his message-address to Congress on Sept. 21 President Roosevelt brought this country nearer to war by declaring that freedom of expression is no longer "compatible" with the present arisen emergency.

President Roosevelt knows only too well that he is dragging us into the now raging imperialistic war, just as he is fully aware of the fact that this will create an immediate artificial prosperity which, in turn, will serve very well as a face-saver for his bankrupt new deal administration with its standing 12-13 million unemployed.

In the face of this imminent danger, what can the people do to really and effectively prevent our entering the war?

We must not refrain from profiteering, according to the President. Rather, we must REFUSE TO PROFIT FROM THE EUROPEAN WAR IN ANY WAY WHATEVER. This can be done most effectively by CEASING TO WORK IN ANY INDUSTRY WHICH MANUFACTURES ANY TYPE OR KINDS OF ARMS, MUNITIONS OR WAR PROVISIONS. LIKEWISE, THE CARRYING OF ANY ARMS, WAR MACHINERY OR PROVISIONS SHOULD BE TOTALLY STOPPED.

Mr. Green of the A. F. of L. and Mr, Lewis of the C. I. O. spoke out against war on Labor Day. But may not one ask what they have done or will do to **immediately stop the production of munitions and war provisions? Will they call a General Strike if and when financial lords issue the command for us to join in the world slaughter?**

No one who knows anything about the lack of sincerity among labor leaders need be a prophet in order to predict that both Mr. Green and Mr. Lewis will only enact the same treacherous role as their ilk in Europe are now doing.

Your life—the lives of the people who pay for war—are in real danger. If you refuse to act now, you will have only yourselves to blame.

You, THE PEOPLE, have everything to lose by taking part in a war.

The merchants of death have chosen their path. They have everything to gain.

You must make your choice today. Tomorrow may be too late!!!

THE LAST WORLD WAR

Toll

Soldiers known dead	10 million
Soldiers missing	3 million
Civilian dead	13 million..
Total Dead	26 million
Wounded	20 million
Orphaned	9 million
Widowed	5 million
Refugees	10 million

* * *

Profits

U. S. Steel Corp. (Morgan)	$1,478,844,000
duPont Companies	255,000,000
United Metals Co. (Baruch)	103,038,000

Just a few of the 181 individuals who made more than a million dollars during the last war (Senate Munitions Committee's report):

Henry Ford, James B. Duke, Andrew Mellon, Henry C. Frick, Arthur Curtis James, Cleveland H. Dodge, George F. Baker, etc.

* * *

From Wilson's War Message (April 2, 1917)

The world must be made safe for democracy . . . We have no selfish ends to serve . . . America is privileged to spend her blood . . . for the principles that gave her birth.

* * *

What We Learned After the War

Here is what Walter H. Page, United States Ambassador to Great Britain, cabled Woodrow Wilson on March 5, 1917 (one month before we entered the war):

The pressure of this aproaching crisis has gone beyond ability of the Morgan financial agency. The only way of maintaining our preeminent trade position . . . is by declaring war on Germany.

U. S. War Budget, 1933-1940

Fiscal Year	Amount
Hoover's last budget	$642,906,420
Roosevelt's budgets	
1934	$540,358,440
1935	$709,933,570
1936	$911,685,747
1937	$917,763,480
1938	$1,027,843,189
1939	$1,131,537,650
(est.)	
1940	$1,176,557,900
(est.)	
plus $215,000,000 proposed in special defense message, January, 1939	$1,391,557,900

The Business of War

When war broke out in 1914, Britain's National Debt was about £700 millions, mainly a legacy from the wars against Napoleon a century earlier.

The battle of Waterloo, in 1815, left us with £850 millions of National Debt; and for a whole century no serious attempt was made to pay it off. The well-to-do classes like a big National Debt, because it means that incomes for the few bondholders are provided out of the taxation of the whole community.

The National Debt, now more than £8,000 millions, is still rising. This year, the Government is adding some £300 millions to it by way of munitions borrowing.

One obvious result of paying by loans for wars or munitions is that the nation is made to pay over and over again for the same thing.

During the 99 years between the Battle of Waterloo and the outbreak of the Great War, the nation paid the cost of the Napoleonic campaigns three times over in interest alone; yet the debt still remained.

—NEWINGTON CITIZEN (England)

* * *

Revelations of a War Propaganda Book

United States Senator Nye of North Dakota read into the Congressional Record on April 25, 1939 from a British work, "Propaganda in the Next War," written by Sidney Rogerson, and edited by Capt. Liddell Hart. The excerpts that follow speak for themselves.

"For some time the issue as to which side the United States would take hung in balance and in the final result was a credit to our propaganda. We were helped by the carelessness of the Germans . . . We were almost as thorough (as the Germans) though less blatant in our methods. Among our multifarious activities was the supply of a regular British news sheet to no fewer than 360 small American newspapers.

During the Great War we bought off . . . American Jewish public by the promise of the Jewish national home in Palestine, held by Ludendorf to be the master stroke of Allied propaganda as it enabled us not only to appeal to Jews in America, but to Jews in Germany as well.

There will be no doubt that the next war will be billed as a fight between democracy and dictatorship. It may in fact be nothing of the sort. We might get Italy as a partner and Germany get Belgium; authoritarian Portugal is likely to come with us and the democratic Scandinavian countries may remain strictly neutral. In the ultimate resort, alliances spring from the hope of a material advantage, not the possession of a common ideological belief, but in our propaganda we must make the facts fit our case as far as possible. We should almost certainly represent the struggle in the propaganda we should be compelled to do toward France, the United States of America, and our own Empire, as democracy and freedom versus dictatorship and persecution.

These should not be difficult to pursue, or to put over to the American public . . . They are more susceptible to suggestion than most people . . . They are at this moment the battle-ground of an active propaganda of labels . . . We shall, as before, send over our leading literary lights and other men with names well known in the United States . . ."

THE INNOCENT ABROAD

Betty Morrison

SUPERIOR INTELLIGENCE

A business magazine bobs up serenely with the time-worn argument that success in business is due to superior intelligence. For our own part, this evident and systematic perversion of facts would remain unchallenged were it not for its constant repetition on the part of seemingly intelligent but thoughtless workers who ought to know better.

The fallacy of this statement can be easily demonstrated, and only by indulging in conventional platitudes can we disprove that most of the world's greatest geniuses, inventors, men of science, have been as poor as proverbial church mice; and that the very few who have lived in comparative comfort, have at any time reaped benefits commensurate with services rendered or with the fortunes accrued by the exploitation of their discovery and invention.

The history of commerce clearly disproves this business magazine's contention. From it we glean that trade began as a form of highway robbery; the strong man took what he wanted from the weak.

The giving of presents to avoid slaughter was the first step in trade. It was customary to leave on the frontier at some chosen spot articles of value such as the stronger tribe wanted. These would be taken and in some instances other articles would be left in their place. Later, ambassadors were sent bearing gifts.

Thus barter and trade arose. It was originally but a disguised combat. Trade developed out of plunder and tribute. And always the stronger, the more powerful, the loud, overbearing, insolent, pushing, brutal and fierce got the best of the bargain.

Business as conducted today does not require thought. It is done according to a very simple formula that a child can be taught in two easy lessons, and can be carried on by reflex action within a short time.

The formula is: "Establish yourself as intermediary between producer and consumer, be a convenience to both, and charge all the traffic will bear for the service."

By adhering to this formula and providing conditions are favorable, anyone can become a successful business man. There are no values to be created or defined. Every little detail has its governing rule.

It is the petty annoyances and worries incidental upon catering to a multiplicity of tastes, and the constant nagging of the money-getting habit, the inability to meet pressing claims of creditors, the constant fear of competition and possible failure, that wear out the business man.

But he thinks he thinks.

* * *

CELEBRATING WHAT?

Throughout these United States bands played, and the brawny and proud sons of toil kept step to inspiring strains as they marched in parade in commemoration of a day that has been legalized as Labor Day.

The orators raved in a delirium of eloquence and robbed the English language of its choicest phrases to tickle the auricular organs of the working class, but the majority of the dispensers of fulsome flattery were very careful about hurling verbal lightning against the causes that enslave laboring humanity. The thunders of oratory were belched against effects, but the system that breeds these effects escaped with impunity.

The majority of labor orators exercised their lungs on this occasion in denouncing the brutal acts of the police and the militia, the debauchery of the legislative bodies, the corruption of the judiciary, but they were silent as clams as to the causes which give birth to all outrages and infamies that cover the earth with misery and wretchedness.

Some of the speakers on Labor Day paid glowing tribute to the glorious opportunities that present themselves to the citizenship of our republic, and instituted a comparison between free America and the crumbling governments across the seas. In pathetic language they painted the poverty of the people of Europe and the Orient, and with words moistened with crocodile tears portrayed the barbarism of foreign governments, and then pointed with pride to the starry banner under whose fluttering folds men are kings and women are queens, basking in the sunshine of glorious freedom, whose rays illuminate the hovel as well as the mansion. The thoughtless worker, with his stomach as empty as his skull was carried off his feet by the flowers of rhetoric that are used to drug his mentality and cover with a mask the indigence that is endured in this land of plenty and of copyrighted liberty.

The brain of the worker, however, is developing, and his mental vision is penetrating the hypocrisy and superstitions of a hoary past. But little longer can the eloquence of the orator shackle him to traditions which have been venerated for centuries by infant minds. The system that has bred the millionaire and the tramp is awakening the producers of the world from the stupor of ages, and the far distant horizon is beginning to show the faint hues of a coming civilization when masters and slaves shall become men, and when the faculties of the mind will not be prostituted on the altar of mammon.

* * *

JUSTICE BOUGHT AND SOLD

Charges that justice is a purchasable quantity and that only bums are hanged, were featured in an address on "Prisons, Prisoners and Politics" delivered by George Van Smith, former prison board chairman of California.

"In the past thirty years," says Van Smith, "I can't point out one single person hanged in California who had more than $10,000 assets or some influential friends. That is why justice is becoming known as a purchasable quantity. Prisons and politics, just like crime and politics, are things the taxpayers cannot afford. It is time the public does something on the preventive side of society's most expensive disease—crime."

He failed to add, however, that the prison is a makeshift and an escape. We would hide our sins behind its walled towers and barred windows, conceal them from ourselves. But the prison is an open grave. It returns what we would bury behind its gray walls. Its darkness and isolation only make the sins we would forget fester and grow, and return to stalk in our midst and plague us more painfully than ever.

We would cover up our sins of omission—for that is what crime and criminals largely mean in the world—by adding sins of commission, that is imprisonment. Having failed to bring equality of opportunity into their lives, having robbed these unfortunates of their chance in society, to bring them light, understanding, comfort and good-will when it was needed, we justify our callousness and our desire for vengeance by scorning the spirits we have thwarted, by breaking the bodies we have bent.

It is our attempt to escape accountability for the crimes we have committed against the men and women we call criminals. The prison is a reflex. It mirrors our hardness, our weakness, our stupidity, our selfishness, our brutality, our hate, everything but social consciousness, everything but our understanding and sympathy, everything but our intelligence and our scientific knowledge.

Punishment is immoral. It is weak. It engenders bitterness in those punished, hardness and self-complacency in those who impose it. To justify punishment, we develop false standards of good and evil. We caricature and distort both our victims and ourselves.

They must be all black, we all white; if not, how could we impose upon others what we would not admit as applicable to our own flesh and blood? But that is not true. The difference between us and them is mainly relative and accidental. The main difference between the so-called criminal and the rest of us is that he lives on the wrong side of the prison wall.

The institutions which foster both crime and punishment stand indicted in the light of reason and equity.

* * *

AH, THAT GOLDEN RULE!

Here it is doing lip service in every tongue:

Let none of you treat his brother in a way he himself would dislike to be treated, says the Mohammedan.

Do as you would be done by, says the Persian.

What you would not wish done to yourself do not do unto others, say the Chinese.

The true rule in business is to guard and do by the things of others as they do by their own, says the Hindu.

Do not that to a neighbor which you would take ill from him, say the Greek.

Whatsoever you do not wish your neighbor to do to you do not unto him. This is the whole law, the rest is mere exposition of it, says the Jew.

All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them, says the Christian.

One should seek for other the happiness one desires for one's self, says the Buddist.

The law imprinted on the hearts of all men is to love the members of society as themselves, say the Romans.

After centuries of advocacy of the Golden Rule in every clime, creed and country, we are now reaping its beneficial results: carnage, plunder, tyranny. If this is the moral heritage of brotherly love—let us find comfort and solace in its opposite: Since love failed to redeem the world—let's try hate for a change. Maybe we'll get somewhere!

* * *

THOSE NAUGHTY DEMOCRATS

Norman Thomas announced that he will no longer be a Socialist party candidate for the presidency. Reason: Roosevelt's New Deal has stolen all the Socialist thunder, and now, Othello's occupation is gone!

Poor Socialism! When it was young, and bold, and unkempt, it represented the aspirations of the proletariat, the dream of the artist, of the idealist. It lived in attics then; it fed on scanty rations. It was the rising hope of generous souls and of hungry bodies. It throbbed in the very pulse of the slave in revolt. It languished in jails, it swung from the gallows.

Now, look at it: sapped of its former vitality, prudently conventional and respectable; timid, apologetic, it has gained admittance into legislative halls, rubbing elbows with plutes and politicians; flirting with preachers and moralists, strengthening the arm of the law, and now defiles itself by slumbering in the lap of jackass democracy.

Yes, workers of the world, unite, you have nothing to lose but your saviours and a lot of sense and backbone to gain!

I Shall Not Kill

War, the demon devastating mankind, the serpent strangling life; war, the hound horrifying humanity, the fiend frightening people; war is upon us again.

War, which spells want, apathy and ruin for the hordes who fight it, is hovering over us like a black cloud.

War, which means wealth, ambition and reaction for those who command it, has finally flapped its wings and begun its deadly flight across the frontiers of the world.

War, like the quicksands of the desert, is swallowing us in its frightful path.

* * *

While men slaughter and die, while children weep and starve, while mothers hope and pray, while blackness blots out the light—the roar of cannons, the blare of the bugles, the din of the planes tear upon the heartstrings of humanity.

War has been declared!

While the human sheep march on to the slaugther line, the rich sit in their spatial palaces. They are content, peaceful. Once again their wish has been granted; once again their ambition has been realized. They sit and wait—for the spoils of human sacrifice to be served to them on platters smeared with the blood of humanity. They sit, these financial lords and war barons, ruling the destinies of man by their maniacal folly and avaricious thirst for human blood which means financial strength for them.

Their joy is unlimited. It is they who have decreed war; it is their decree which spells death for humanity.

* * *

In the blackness of the night, in the dimness of the dawn, congregations gather and pray to God, the unseen and unknown who sanctions the demons' acts of barbarism; they pray to this cruel relentless God who, as the supreme being, does not lift a finger to stop this carnage. They pray, unconscious of their own strength, to this same God whose representatives on earth sanction and abet war. The poor huddled masses, desperate in their pleas, are guided by the clerical shepherds who have heathenly given their nod of approval. Hand in hand, the priest and prince, side by side, the cleric and the capitalist, they serve each other in their foul and barbaric intentions and scopes.

The servants of God have blessed the war and its fomenters with the holy waters of religion!

* * *

Amidst this dim and gripping reality, I thought I saw a beacon, a ray of light and hope. I thought I saw Youth, strong in its natural impulses, genuine in its virginity, hopeful in its desires, strong in its ambitions, meaningful in its aims, courageous in its endeavors, resourceful in its initiative, manly in its juvenility. I thought I saw Youth, erect and firm, determined in its convictions, unwilling to kill.

But, no. I did not see. I only hoped to see. I was mistaken. Youth, too, is marching on to be killed.

Twenty-five years ago rulers started another carnage. They killed your fathers and brothers; they broke the hearts of your mothers and sisters. You do not remember that. But you have read about it. Your teachers and your books have depicted the horrors of the last war. Yet, today, you are asked to kill your unknown brothers, to be killed by them. You are forced to point your gun at some mother's boy. And you—you accept. You are willing to stain your hands and your conscience with the blood of the innocent.

Youth, enthusiastic energetic youth, are you not men? I thought that—but, no. I have erred. You, too, are cowards!

* * *

While peoples and nations fall and die, while imperialistic pacts and plans are made and broken, while darkness becomes blacker and blacker—I hear a voice, speaking softly, then loudly. It is my own voice telling the world that I will not go to war.

No, I refuse to partake of this carnage. I will not abet the scopes and ambitions of the leeches who suck the blood of my very veins. I shall not kill.

I refuse to fight in any war because I am a man. I am no coward.

I shall be persecuted and jailed. I shall be made to suffer in the dungeons. I shall be a victim of the iniquities of the law. I shall undergo the gruesome tortures of my persecutors. I shall starve. I shall shed blood for my rights. I shall fight to be free. I shall stand erect and firm, unpliable in my determination. I shall be killed.

But I will not go to war. I am no coward. I AM A MAN.

Ray RANDALL

REAL DEMOCRACY

Ammon A. Hennacy

The most timely criticism of our economic life today, as well as one of the signboards pointing toward that future society of real democracy which must come if America is to fulfill her dream, has been given by that greatest of American democrats: Thomas Jefferson. He it was who said: **"When we must wait for Washington to tell us when to sow and when to reap, we shall soon want bread."** And, shades of the Jefferson Day dinners, he also said: **"That government is best which governs least."** and, **"The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it always to be kept alive".** President Roosevelt is arming and calling upon the democracies of the world to be as one against tyranny. Until the recent change in the Communist party line, which proves the Anarchist contention that Fascists and Communists are blood-brothers, the Communists united in support of Roosevelt, and even of Mayor Kelley in the Chicago election. Now England has declared a dictatorship in England (they have always had one in India) it is seen that the word democracy is but lightly used by the politicians of both right and left. Today we see the Constitution-Worshippers of various political, fraternal and religious groups linking their reactionary creeds with the word democracy.

The whole world is now again fighting another war "to make the World safe for Democracy". Do radicals need to be told to follow the non-compromising stand against war taken by our comrades Berkman, Goldman and Debs twenty-two years ago?

We see little reason why the new and more terrible war would make the present world more safe for Democracy than did the last one. In fact, statesmen and military experts told us that another major war will mean the end of civilization.

In our centralized society millions are told how to vote and how to pray, just what letters or telegrams to send to Congressmen in order to swing the policy of a clique. The person who can have any independent opinion has the avenue of expression closed unless he follows the party line of some paper or radio station. In such a society it is practically futile to hope that the masses will not again readily join in another Holy War for Democracy.

If we cannot stop this martial spirit the least we can do is to examine the true meaning of democracy and to suggest the basis of a society in which democracy could exist. In passing, the truism is given that a so-called democracy in order to defeat a Fascist nation will have to be more ferocious, more terrible and more efficiently murderous in order to win. This efficiency spells the death of the least portion of democracy. The only hope, therefore, is that somewhere along the road some group will be able to draw attention again to the basis of democracy, somewhat after the explanation given below.

In a sense those who believe in democracy are right in opposing Fascism and Communism or any form of totalitarian thought, for the more centralization there is in government, population, industry, finance, education, and even in culture, the less hope there is for anything democratic. Lewis Mumford in his recent book, "The Culture of Cities" has stated that it is better to have twenty five communities more or less self sufficient, of two thousand population, each linked together in a federation than to have one community of fifty thousand.

Thus **decentralization** is the first major basis of democracy. In voting in municipal, county or state elections but very few people have any idea of the qualifications of those for whom they cast their ballots. It is a notorious fact that the political platform, like that of the street car, meant to get in on, and after election the candidate elected can nullify all promises made. The Puritans in their Town Meeting had the right idea; they knew for whom they were voting.

Closely connected with the idea of decentralization is that of Simplicity. The greater the centralization the greater the complexity of the problem. The average citizen will say that it is too deep for him and be glad to listen to the politician who will claim to solve the problem easily. In small units the facts can be known and no super-intellect will have to interpret them. It is this lack of responsibility today which causes much of the misery. When the responsibility is divided among the legislator, the lame duck Judge, and the executive are chosen for any reason in the world except efficiency. Prejudice, secret deals in convention halls and personal popularity. Then there is this passing of the buck until the citizen is bewildered. In small units greater responsibility can be assumed.

The Right of the Minority has been protected by the Bill of Rights in our Constitution, yet really when the majority is incensed the minority has no rights at all. In a country like the United States where the Catholic Church is in a minority it calls for freedom of religion, but in countries like Spain, Austria, and formerly in South American countries they have allowed no rights to minority religions.

The classic example linking violence with denial of minority rights has been given by Benjamin Tucker, editor of the anarchist paper, Liberty, from 1881 to 1908. He states that for one man to violate the liberty of another in a holdup is obviously wrong, and for a tyrant to enslave a whole people is also recognized as wrong. But when a whole people by its vote desires to compel one person to follow a certain rule, and to deprive him of his life or liberty if he does not follow this rule—this is also wrong and a form of violence. Yes, 100,000,000 Frenchmen or Americans can be wrong. As has been said by one of our rebels, Emma Goldman: "A bad law is no better than any other bad thing".

Henry David Thoreau boldly announced his opposition to the Dred Scott decision and went to prison rather than to pay a tax which supported the return of escaped slaves to their masters. He felt that one on the side of right is a majority already and does not have to wait to corral unthinking citizens with catch phrases. In the same manner the position of the Conscientious Objector to a war may be proven to be right and be admitted by many before the war is over. The majority has usually been wrong and progress has come through the minority refusing to be squelched.

Along with the right of the minority to disobey is the right of a person or a group of persons to secede from a group. Sweden saved thousands of lives by allowing Norway to secede. Passive resistance with the aid of Francis Doak and his fellow Catholics enabled Hungary to gain certain independence from Austria peacefully. Thoreau refused to pay taxes to a certain church to which he did not belong and signed a paper seceding from any supposed membership in it. In joining a group the democratic method is to reserve the right of secession.

Oscar Wilde has said that there are three tyrants: the Church, the State, and greatest of all, the Mob— or the majority. Those who believe in democracy have perhaps sought to limit the authority of the Church and the State, but still worship the will of the people—the Mob, as being supreme. It is the stock in trade of politicians as far removed as Lincoln and Coolidge to say that the great heart of the American people remains true and decides justly. The plain truth is that the people as a whole are the tools of politicians and are fooled into supporting injustice and war, and in accepting an economy of scarcity. As well as being fooled again and again by politicians who promise that taxes will be lowered and pensions increased.

Very few people know of the one example of perfect democracy which has existed for centuries: the Quaker meeting. Here no vote is taken, no parties of the left or right win a victory by the scant majority of one vote, no acrimonious discussions occur. Each person is allowed to state his opinion on the question at issue. At the close of the meeting the clerk or chairman will announce what to him seems to be "the sense of the meeting". Perhaps all but two people agree. Here again this minority of two is free to speak again. If, after thinking the matter over they feel that the issue is not important enough to delay matters further, they will remain silent and the clerk will announce a unanimous decision. If they desire to continue their arguments again and again they can do so. Finally a compromise can be made and this is announced by the clerk as the sense of the meeting. Perhaps this is the reason why the small group of Quakers have been so efficient in their activities.

Democracy might thus be defined as the organic growth of thought and action in small federated groups of society, where the right of the individual to disobey and to secede is granted. This minority will cheerfully accept the resulting censure of the majority and the lonesomeness which those prophets who come out from the herd are accustomed to endure.

Anarchism as an ideal and as a practical program for 1939 is thus based upon a **real democracy** which politicians and sentimentalists are ignorant of in their opportunistic search for a means of corraling the votes and applause of the unthinking multitude.

Democracy versus Fascism

The theoretical alignment of democracy versus Fascism was predicated on the assumption that Britain and France are in reality democracies. That these two states are as imperialistic as Germany and Italy was overlooked. In their colonies —India, Morocco, Cochin-China—they had been pursuing a policy of ruthless exploitation of millions of human beings long before Hitler and Mussolini appeared on the horizon.

The difference is merely that not possessing colonies, Italy and Germany are compelled to practice British and French colonial methods on their home population. Because of their colonial wealth, too, the contradictions in society have not been so rudely challenged in Britain and France as they have been in Italy and Germany; at home, therefore, London and Paris have been able to carry on with a semblance of democratic procedure . . . .

England will fight not for democracy but to safeguard her imperial interests where they are at stake . . . .

In the whole world all the ideologists of the 'war against Fascism' school accepted the idea of war as the sole means to fight Fascist encroachments, as if war whether 'democratic' or 'totalitarian,' in the present state of perfection of the instruments of destruction, would not impose on every belligerent a Frankenstein which nobody could control and of which the inevitable consequence must be everywhere hatred, brutality and contempt of men. War today will impartially distribute among victors and vanquished nothing but ruin, human degradation and slavery.

—Pierre van PASSEN in "Days of Our Years"

This Funny World....

Progress

PUT-IN-BAY, Ohio, August 51, 1939.—(Associated Press).Ohio State University's board of trustees today banned the Marxist club from the campus for "un-American and subversive activities." . . . Commenting on the board's action the club president, Sarah Tobacman, said: "We did nothing un-American unless studying is un-American."

"LITTLE ROCK, ARK., May 23 (Associated Press).—Two negro convicts who escaped with ten others when a tornado demolished part of the Cummins State prison farm, were shot to death today by trusty guards."

"It may surprise some of the professional red-baiters, as well as some of the veteran radicals, to learn that Roy E. Burt has resigned the office of national secretary of the Socialist Party to accept the associate pastorship of the downtown Wesley Methodist church in Minneapolis, and that Earl Browder is a member of the Catholic Church."

—The Truth Seeker

The movie colony (Hollywood) decided today that Dr. Frank Buchman, an English clergyman who came here to enlist stars in the moral rearmament movement had scored one notable triumph and one notable failure. He had won Mae West to his cause, and lost W. C. Fields . . . . "I owe all my success to the kind of thinking moral rearmament is," Miss West told him."—UNITED PRESS, Aug. 19, 1939.

States the PEOPLE'S WORLD of Aug. 24, 1939: "Last Thursday night, Party (Communist) headquarters stated, a broadcast . . had been postponed when the party voluntarily turned over its time to the War Department."

"The Mendalian law of inheritance of physical characteristics has clashed with the Marxian theory of materialism and must go, twenty-four students of the Timiryasev Agricultural Academy demanded . . . —UNITED PRESS Dispatch from MOSCOW, June 15, 1939.

LOS ANGELES police arrested 280,738 persons during the fiscal year ending June 30. The total population of the city is 1,500,000.

"Since the Nazis' rise to power in 1933 more than 6,000 publications—books, periodicals and newspapers—have passed out of existence."—ASSOCIATED PRESS dispatch from BERLIN, June 21, 1939.

"CRANBURY, N. J., Aug. 12 (Associated Press).—State police were called early today to investigate what they said was a raid by a party of white men on a shack occupied by seven Negro potato pickers, all of whom were stripped and two, including a woman, smeared with white paint."

On May 29 the Imperial JAPANESE headquarters announced that an estimated 2,300,000 CHINESE had been killed or wounded. No less than 936,345 dead bodies of Chinese had been counted on battlefields.

"Soviet stage, screen and literary circles heard with surprise today that Vsevolod Meyerhold, famous as the father of a revolutionary trend in stagecraft, had been arrested."—UNITED PRESS, June 24, 1939.

Under The "Abundant Life"

"Saginaw, Mich., Aug. 18 (United Press).—A $22-a-month WPA worker, his wife and children today established home in a 1929 automobile on a street after being evicted from their $10-a-month house . . . 'City officials (the constable) moved me out—so there I stay.'"

The Texas Oil Corporation made a profit of $23,500,000 for the year of 1938.

"My three little girls were undernourished and pitiful . . . . I lived in hell . . . ," From a note left by Wesley Keener, 53, of Orange County, Calif., who was found a suicide on June 27, 1939.

The Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company made a profit of $17,244,411 for the year of 1938.

A survey of California's needy persons showed that 750,000 persons registered with the State Re-employment Service, 350,000 persons are on WPA, 250,000 on state relief, and 200,000 on county relief. —Bert HILLSIDE.

THE UNION BETWEEN STALIN AND HITLER

The reaction of the liberal and socialist world toward the alliance between the Government of Russia and Germany reveals some interesting phases that need clarification.

"The Daily Worker" does well to remind all of us that the Bolshevik Government has been having a pact with Fascist Italy for many years. And it is a good point to bear in mind. For, under the shield of that pact, the Bolshevik Government supplied Italy with the oil that it needed in order to carry through its war of invasion upon Abyssinia and upon Spain. However, in the case of Spain a double-sort of bookkeeping was required: supplying the loyalist regime with war materials—for cash and political consideration.

By a far from strange coincidence, the accusations made by Gen. Krivitzky and Araquistain that Stalin intentionally prolonged the Spanish struggle by witholding sufficient supplies to the loyalists in order to carry out his imperialistic policy in the Far East receives its strongest corroboration in the pact just made.

The invasion of Eastern Poland by the Stalin army exactly in the same brutal manner as the Hitler army did in the other part of Poland, accompanied by the approval of the Nazi and Fascist press, establishes beyond any disqualification the ideological union between Bolshevism, Fascism and Nazism.

The mask and cloak of deceit—of an avowed existing animosity between this trinity stands now unmasked and disrobed in all its ugliness—bringing bitter disillusionment to its naive and sacrificing followers the world over.

This newly revealed alliance will yet serve as the strongest possible conceived weapon by which capitalist "democracy" will succeed to destroy every vestige of whatever sincere revolutionary spirit Bolshevism had not as yet succeeded to undermine and annihilate. The apologists for capitalism will make it appear that their vain "democracy" is a blessing as compared with the sinister newly formed trinity.

Diabolical as this eventuality appears—nevertheless—such is the accomplishment of the three offsprings of the father of authoritarian socialism, Karl Marx,—Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin.

* * *

Concerning other phases of the new pact, is it at all correct to pronounce a sentence of deceit upon the Bolshevik Government or to conclude that by its pact with Hitler it has now liquidated the revolution?

To both these queries we must answer negatively.

It is only upon the issue of "united and people's front" movements nurtured as the supposedly powerful wall against fascism and nazism that one can assert that the pact implies treachery. Not so in its ideology as rulers over a marxian state.

Only once did the Bolshevik state commit its supreme act of treachery—when it gave lip-service to the cry of the people in October for "Land and Freedom" and "All Power to the Soviets!" But that treachery was enacted before the Bolsheviks installed themselves as a State. And, in the campaign to achieve power, the Leninists—including Lenin, the Trotskyists—including Trotsky, were a part of the propaganda machine that brought them to power.

Once the Bolsheviks achieved power and the conquest of the state apparatus, what else could have ensued but that which we have been witnessing all these years?

The Soviets were shelved; the unions, the press, the printed word in general, the theatre—every branch of culture and education became rubber stamps and were subordinated to the whims and precepts of the disciples of Karl Marx.

When Marx, as it will be recalled, brought forward his idea of political action (the conquering of the state) in the First International, Mikhail Bakunin, the anarchist, fought against it with all his strength. He contended that such a course would lead to the corruption of the entire revolutionary movement since it would lead its best elements into the brothel of the political parliaments which capitalism had founded in order to perpetuate its reign.

In his attempt to minimize Bakunin's prophetic warning, Marx gave the reply that has become most renown in socialistic circles: "The End Justifies the Means."

And in whatever act of deceit with which any marxist faction has ever been charged, the classical Machiavellian phrase has been brought forward by them over and over again—not caring how inimical their acts have proven themselves to be toward the true interests of the world's oppressed.

This disastrous road of compromise and expediency led the "great" socialist stronghold in the Reichstag to turn into the Kaiser's chauvinistic supporters of the last world war. It was likewise responsible for the deceitful acts of the Briands, the Millerands and MacDonalds throughtout every part of the world. It culminated in the shattering of the Second Socialist International just as Marx and his followers had done with the First International.

The birth of the Third International proved to be but a change only in name. It followed along the same road and pursued identically the same sort of tactics that brought about the destruction of the first and second Internationals. The Third now stands disgraced and shattered by the very hands of its own creators.

When any socialist, Troskyist or any marxian follower arises now to ask the oppressed to entrust their faith into their hands—we can but give the warning: Remember what Lenin and Trotsky did to Kronstadt—the dissenting comrades of their own party! Remember, also, what they did to the whole anarchist movement in Russia! Remember, too, how ruthlessly Stalin has destroyed everyone of his own comrades of yesterday when they stood in the path of his political and national maneuvers! Remember, again, what the Scheidemans and Noskes did in Germany when they were in power! Remember as well, what the socialist children of Karl Marx did wherever they wielded any power—be it as Governmental or as trade union officials!

How often have we heard repeated by all the enactors of treacherous deeds the alibi: "The End Justifies The Means." "Expediency." "You must compromise in order to exist."

Do you know of any exponent of the present socialist or communist schools who has as yet shown that he has learned the lesson of the disastrous results of following marxian ideologies?

We know not. And because of this fact, we warn the oppressed everywhere: Beware of these professing saviors as you would of your worst enemies.

And whatever has been said about the new Trinity of Bolshevism, Fascism and Nazism applies equally as well to all the so-called democracies that will no doubt endeavor to mislead mankind into the belief that in the peoples' joining their crusade they will gain anything better than what is in store for them under the totalitarian oligarchies. The alignment of Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin on one side and that of all capitalist "democracies" on the other—proves this most conclusively.

* * *

One more important fact should be borne in mind by all those who are sincerely engaged in the labors of bringing about the dawn of a true free society: The world was not built upon the basis of deceit or hatred. Whatever little progress mankind has made has never been the result of hatred or deceit. Such progress has been made for exactly the opposite reasons. If, therefore, mankind is to achieve its true and real emancipation, it will have to come through a social revolution that will have at its mast-head: The End Justifies The Means, Love of All Races, and the Inalienable Right to Freedom and Happiness for Every Living Soul.

Furthermore, the Hitlers, the Stalins, the Mussolinis—all assume to speak in the name of the people. But at no time does any one of them represent the people any more than does the politician who happens to have succeeded in crowning himself an "official servant of the people."

Whenever the people come to realize and comprehend the truth, all the deceitful maneuvers in the name of "the dictatorship of the proletariat," "national socialism" or the "corporal State"—all these devices, as well as their exponents, will be discarded into the scrap heap where lie buried the already forgotten scores of pretending saviors mankind has come to know and by whom humanity has been misled and disillusioned.

* * *

The true interests of the people lies in that sole spiritual and physical revolution that would liberate them from every form of economic exploitation and political rulership. Every other kind of a battle or war ought never to be the concern of the oppressed. except only in so far as they can turn such sham battles and wars into struggles for their own emancipation.

From The Mouths Of Marxists

What Apologist Wrote Before

The reactionaries openly speculate that the Soviet Union may try to beat Chamberlain at his own game by joining hands with Hitler. But even those who hate the land of Socialism cannot believe it, when the Soviet alone rounds up the traitorous agents of Hitler . . . and put them beyond all possibilities of doing any more of their wrecking, spying and diversions for Fascism".

—Earl BROWDER, in "Fighting for Peace"

* * *

Rapid spreading rumors of an impending German-Soviet reconciliation, circulating with obvious consent of the German government, tonight were regarded as a nazi attempt to thwart a "peace front".

—DAILY WORKER Editorial, May 13, 1939

* * *

The war of the Soviet Union against fascism will be the most just and most legitimate of all wars that humanity has known. It will be a war for the liberation of the oppressed nations reduced to slavery. It will be for the defense of the international proletariat and the culture of the whole of progressive humanity against fascist barbarism.

Moscow PRAVDA (Truth), April 18, 1939

What They Write Now

The Soviet Union not only has non-agression pacts with such countries as China, Poland and a mutual assistance pact with France, but it also has a non-aggression treaty with Italy . . . In the recent period, masses of American people have come to realize better than they ever did before what a true friend the Soviet Union is for America as well as for all nonaggressor countries. Every true American and sincere opponent of reaction will rejoice together with the Chinese people at the fact that the Soviet Union in entering negotiations for this non-aggression treaty with Germany, does so in the interest of curbing Fascist aggression and promoting world peace.

—DAILY WORKER, Aug. 23, 1939

Marx's Dissenting Children

Today, at last, the world can see quite plainly the real meaning of the Moscow Trials. One by one, by tens and dozens and hundreds and thousands, Stalin butchered. By frame-up in open court or in dark rooms in black night, in concentration camps or the cellars of the Lubianka, the guns of the GPU smoked, Zinoviev and Smirnov and Kamenev and Bukharin, Pyatakov, Mrachkovsky . . . all who remained of those who had led the great revolution, all Lenin's comrades and colleagues, those who had been the flower of the dead party which Stalin murdered, fell before the assassin of the Kremlin. These were the allies of Hitler, the agents of the Gestapo, the plotters of a "German orientation"! So said Vyshinsky—and the paid and unpaid hirelings and prostitutes of the unspeakable tyrant of the Kremlin!

And now, with its fierce, terrible irony, history pulls aside the curtain: it is Stalin, Stalin the well-beloved, the eagle, the lion, the rain and the sun, who embraces Hitler over the bones of the workers of Europe.

Why the trials, and the ravaging purges? It is to understand now. To destroy the revolution, to march hand in hand with the world symbol of the counter-revolution, Stalin had first to destroy all those who made the revolution, to smash the living bearers of the tradition of the revolution, to root out every potential center of that opposition which would arise from among the masses as Stalin's counter-revolution had to come into the open for its last stages.

—SOCIALIST APPEAL, Sept. 1, 1939

* * *

The trade agreement and mis-named "non-agression" pact, taken together at this time constitute in fact an economic alliance to aid aggression. The U. S. S. R. is now actively giving material support to the building of Hitler's military machine; and American Communists who claim that this is an alliance for peace cannot deny that it means supplying to Germany the wheat, oil, and other essential materials needed for Hitler's war purposes. The same Communist party which shouts for democracy as against Fascism supports—partly by misrepresentation—Stalin's deal with Hitler in which the Russian people were no more consulted than were the German. Thus are democracy and Socialism betrayed in the home of their self-styled friends. We denounce Stalin's pacts as an alliance with Hitler's brutality. We denounce them as a piece of hypocrisy, as an example of double standards unmatched in history. The same Communist party that demands in the capitalist U. S. a government boycott on all trade with Germany supports active aid by the government of the U. S. S. R.—which has absolute control of trade—to Germany. The Soviet-Nazi pact is typical of that course of double dealing and ruthless disregard for truth and decency which the Communist party of this and other countries has pursued within the labor movement.

—The SOCIALIST CALL, Sept. 2, 1939.

* * *

.....What unprincipled concoction of treacherous phrases and demagogic slogans will make up the new Stalinist "party line" as the instrument of the new Soviet foreign policy? One thing is clear at any rate: Once the new "party line" is decreed in Moscow, it will be taken up by the "coordinated" cliques of Stalinist henchmen in the various countries and injected by them into the labor movement with the same unscrupulousness and the same disregard of consequences that marked the ultra-leftist dual unionism of 1929-1935 and the Popular Frontism of recent years.

—WORKER'S AGE, Sept., 2, 1939.

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It would be much more correct to say that neither Hitler nor Stalin has principles or scruples, that both are conscienceless politicians who use their peoples as stakes in a win all, loose-all game . . . The Government of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, always claimed to be the expression of a people which, because of its Weltanschauung must fight for the economic and spiritual elevation of the masses against Fascism, the deadly enemy of all who strive for democratic freedom and social improvement. When Commu-

(Continued on Page Six)

FREEDOM IN THOUGHT

Marie Harlowe

Democracy implies freedom, but the term "freedom" is too often confused with the word "licence."

The only real freedom does not come from the gifts of democracy, however free they may be, but from the individual freedom of the mind. It is a psychological law that "as above, so below; as within, so without." Everything that is outside of man was first inside man in the form of an idea. The inventor first has the idea of his machine before he has the physical form of the machine.

The dictionary defines "freedom" as "to have bonds or restraints broken, loosened." A most pertinent definition is thus given of a "freeman" as one who is not under the subjugation of the will or mind of another. Attaining freedom always involves the breaking up of bonds and limitations, and for the individual it includes the breaking away from the domination of other minds. This is why revolutions always precede the attainment of freedom. As the existing forms of limitations are more crystalized, the greater the revolution necessary for the breaking-up process. Attaining freedom of the United States in 1776 was comparatively easy, for the tyranny and limitation of England's power was lessened by distance on the one hand, and by the new country with new forms on the other. Attaining freedom in Spain is more difficult as time goes on because there men are dealing with crystalized bonds of long and tenacious duration of a united church and political state.

Revolution is always a part of the attainment of freedom, although as in the case of a revolutionized thought, it need not necessarily be a "bloody" revolution. As one sweeps a dirty floor the dust is raised, causing, seemingly, more dirt, but afterwards the floor is clean.

In ideal at least the United States is founded on freedom. At present the greatest ill of the country is the courtailment of individual liberty. Patrick Henry made no idle statement when he said "Give me liberty, or give me death," for there is no progress possible without absolute freedom. Absolute freedom must not, however, be confused with licence. In the bounds of freedom a man may do whatever he pleases as long as he does not injure or encroach on the rights of another. "Special privilege" is really a licence to over-ride another. It may thus be seen that freedom likewise has its inherent restrictions.

People are not given their freedom if they are only allowed to think in certain patterns. This is why freedom in the United Sstates was included as an ideal in the religious phase of life where complete freedom of thought was given.

Russia is today ALLOWING religious worship, notwithstanding that they are trying to eradicate it at the same time. They are coming to realize that they may educate people out of a certain thought but that until that is done, freedom of thought is necessary. Emma Goldman is today out of Russia because she stood for freedom of mind and thought, whatever other reasons are given. Her vision is so broad and inclusive that she could see farther than some others that growth and expansion are only possible in complete freedom.

Psychology says that when man has overcome the lion and monkey in himself, he still has the jackass to contend with. There is no freedom in fighting and overcoming subjection by one group only to place one's self under the dominion of another group denying complete freedom of thought and will from another angle or phase of life. This is merely Fascism, the transfer of power of one over-lord to another. In so far as Communism or any other group, wherever found, limits the free action of men's minds, they are fascists by nature.

Evolution operates in the whole universe. New men and new conditions grow out of the old, and are in turn replaced by newer men and newer conditions. Whenever any group in the universe refuses to grow through being bound and limited by lack of freedom, it no longer serves a purpose in the world, and is removed. We do not need the elaborate demonstrtation by Bergson to show us that in the evolutionary process change and newness are everywhere apparent, and everywhere the basis for new life.

Solar systems evolve in a continuous change into better forms, likewise chemical elements, species of men and minds of men. Evolution is the process of EXPANDING while extending into the future. Democracy is the plan which allows the individual to expand, and freedom of thought is essential to that expansion, for freedom of thought is freedom for the individual.

* * *

Brutal Killing

No, it is not dying which is the characteristic act distinctive of war, but killing, for war is the one occasion when twentieth-century man thinks himself justified in killing his fellow-man. But killing is brutalizing, even for those, like the hangman, who kills in accordance with legally prescribed forms. Moreover, the hangman's calling used naturally to be looked upon as ignominous, and even now he has to live in self-imposed anonymity, a somewhat solidary existence... War, is fought out with cold steel, is, after all, a bloody business, and the effect of blood must not be left out of account.... War confronts human beings with situations in which they must act inhumanly.

— G.F. NICOLAI

From The Mouths Of Marxists

(Continued from Page Five)

nism goes arm in arm with Nazism, it abandons the principles it professes and sinks to the low level of the professional politician in a society it set out to destroy.

—Ludwig LORE (Former Communist).

* * *

The moral prestige of the Soviet government will be injured both at home and abroad... For years the Communist movement has been preaching collective security... But now it lies slain at the hands of its chief supporter... Some rationalization will be discovered and some new line will be promulgated, no doubt. But Russian opinion, and opinion throughout the Communist International, will be confused and disheartened. The anti-Stalin opposition will be jubilant and will redouble its efforts. More treason in the Soviet Union and more suppression of treason or so-called treason is likely. Non-Communists throughout the world who had been sympathetic with the Soviet regime and friendly toward its recent line, but already chilled by the political trials, will be further puzzled and alienated.

—The NEW REPUBLIC.

* * *

Red Star and Swastika, once mutually exclusive symbols, have come together, and the diplomatic map of Europe has been redrawn overnight. Russia has not joined the Anti-Comintern Pact, but by consenting at this precise moment to adopt the role of a disinterested neutral it has given Hitler a colossal diplomatic victory and laid foundations for another Munich.

—The NATION.

A Record of Our Position

Within three short years Lenin has established a dictatorship more absolute than any civilization has known since the days of the French Jacobins . . . . If the Lenin regime should develope, as indeed it may, into a vast bureaucracy . . . Having at its free disposition the enormous natural resources . . . it could, and would grant concessions and give away vast territories, which belong of right to the people and not to it, with all the insolence of a Caesar. It could, and would bargain as despots bargain, and sell at its own price the lives and liberties of its own people.—William C. OWEN, in the London "Freedom" of 1921.

* * *

The "Communists" claim that we have a "dictatorship" of capitalism which is the truth. But when they assert that for this reason the workers also, need a dictatorship, they are very far from the truth. Once the enslaved toilers rise in a revolution for whom do they need a dictatorship? If the revolution is not finished, the struggle against its enemies is on. A struggle is not a dictatorship. That moment when a dictatorship makes its appearance, the struggle of the Revolution is ended, and rulership has begun. As dictatorships embody ruling, some must rule and some be ruled . . . . The Russian Revolution has proven this The Congress will not have a difficult task at all to expose the real meaning of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and the perfidy that is being committed in its name.

—From FREE SOCIETY of September 1921 (dealing with the problems of the impending International Anarchist Congress that was subsequently held in Berlin, December, 1921.—Editor).

* * *

The Socialism of Marx is based upon the rule of the intellectuals over the masses, and the "Communists" in Russia are doing their best to put this into practice . . . . The Soviets, Trade Unions and Co-operatives made part of the Government machine controlled by the "Communist" Party, the voice of every revolutionist stifled and suppressed.

—Martin GRACHUS in FREE SOCIETY, Dec., 1921.

* * *

The International Anarchist Congress, states with satisfaction that the Anarchists of all countries are opponents of the Dictatorship. The occurencies in Russia have strengthened still more the righteousness of our view on the Dictatorship.

—From report of the International Anarchist Congress, FREE SOCIETY, Jan.-Feb., 1922.

* * *

The great misfortune of the revolution in Russia was the masses' consent to the Bolshevike rebuilding the shattered governmental machine into a new one—named the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." . . . The triumph of this dictatorship meant the defeat of the masses' self initiative, by the nulification of the Soviets as the potential safeguarding force of the revolution . . . . It is to be hoped and expected that in the revolutions to come (most likely the next one will again occur in Russia) the masses will have profited by the great lessons of the 1917 revolution in Russia, to the extent of themselves carrying out the destructive, defensive and creative tasks of the Day After the Social Revolution had begun. And these tasks can never be fully achieved until they had spread from country to country, thereby bringing to materialization the world Revolution, that will bring about the new era—a Free Commune Society of the whole human race.—Fred S. GRAHAM in FREE SOCIETY, Aug., 1922.

* * *

Seemingly, the world finds itself today embroiled by all sorts of dictatorships, Socialist dictatorships, Fascist dictatorships, Republican and Democratic dictatorships. They all embrace one central idea: ruling over the oppressed and exploited . . . Man will not forever remain in the straight-jacket pattterned for him by capitalism or marxian socialism. —MAN!, May-June, 1933.

* * *

How many of the movements, if any, that espouse the cry for a united front among the oppressed of the world have Freedom and the right of experimentation as their basic ideological tenet? None. Then why should the Anarchists have anything to do with United Front movements sponsored by such groups? —MAN!, Aug., Sept., 1933.

* * *

Insofar as the title "Father of Fascism" can be legitimately laid to the door of any one individual, it takes no metaphysical reasoning to lay it to that great but misttaken genius—Karl Marx.—Laurence LABADIE in MAN!, April, 1935.

* * *

Eighteen years after the greatest social attempt in our modern history that uprooted the most ugly form of present capitalism—Czarism, the position of the anarchists toward and in the Revolution of Russia stands fully vindicated, whereas that of every marxian party stands bankrupt or indicted as the betrayers of the true aims of the October revolution.—MAN!, Oct., 1935.

* * *

The real rebels against the present order, the true fighters for liberty—have no need for any united front maneuvers . . . have no designs at any time to attain the reigns over the people, but, on the contrary, are unceasingly fighting at all times for the total disappearance of every form of reign of man over fellowman.—MAN!, Feb., 1936.

ALDO AGUZZI

In poor health and persecuted for his illegal entry in Argentina, our comrade Aldo Aguzzi, who had recently left Spain, committed suicide. For fifteen years he collaborated in various Italian Anarchist publications, and in the Spanish libertarian press his contributions were particularly to "La Antorcha" and "La Obra". While Aguzzi was in Spain he took over the editorship of "Guerra di Classi" after its editor, Camillo Berneri, was assassinated by the Tcheka.

Painter by trade and active militant Aguzzi had great difficulty in finding permanent work; threatened with deportation to Italy where as an anarchist he would have met death or imprisonment for life, physically weakened by sickness, he put an end to it all.

Aldo Aguzzi was a dear comrade one whom you loved, the closer you came to know him. His premature death is a great loss to the anarchist movement.

"La Obra"

Buenos Aires, June 1939.

Erratum

The name appearing under the photo on page five of the August issue should have read BENJAMIN RICKETSON TUCKER instead of Albert Ricketson Tucker.

Comrade Steven T. Byington writes us also:

"In the account of Ben. R. Tucker in the August number, page 5, upper part of third column, a line of the manuscript was omitted by the printer so that it says "would heavily reduce so near" where it should say "would heavily reduce the rate of interest; but it would bring the rate so near" etc. Also, lower down in the same column, "regardless of the agreement" should be "regardless of the argument."

MAN!

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MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

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MAN! invites the collaboration of all writers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, poems and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

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ART AND LITERATURE

PARADES

Last weekend I was in San Diego. While walking down the street my attention was arrested by a band playing martial music. I paused to listen and soon saw several bands of young boys and girls marching in parade. Each band represented a San Diego school.

The line of march was colorful. The drum majors, with their tall hats and shining visors cut a brilliant figure as they threw their glittering batons twirling into the air.

There is something about a parade with its marching music that sends a thrill through me. Somehow, one automatically throws his shoulders back and stands more erect as the tunes go through him. And yet, I hate a parade! It brings back to my mind a vivid picture of 1914 when, as a youngster, I saw the first Canadian batallion leave for France from Montreal.

I remember how those men were laughing and joking with the spectators. I remember seeing familiar faces in that line of parade. Men who had won my boyish heart with an occasional piece of candy or a treat to the circus. I remember that many of these men left behind them mothers, wives and children. Some should really have been in schoolrooms instead of barracks. Some of these men in uniform were not long out of short pants.

I hate a parade because I know that not one man of this batallion ever came home. I hate a parade because I know that these youngsters who are wearing colorful costumes today may be wearing drab uniforms tomorrow. I hate a parade because these youngsters in their early teens were laughing Sunday just as the Canadian batallion laughed and when they marched away from their homes. I hate a parade because I know these youngsters, too, will never come back if they march again under similar circumstances to those of the Canadian batallion.

These youngsters, even though they don't know it, are being trained and drilled today as our dead soldiers were yesteryear. That twirling, glittering baton that the drum major was so proud of last Sunday may become a glittering, shining bayonet to be thrust into a fellowman soon. It may even be made from the same sheaf of steel that made his playful baton.

Sunday he wore a brilliant uniform as he marched in parade to the coliseum. Tomorrow, when he will be called upon to don the army uniform he will march in a parade which will lead to Death-In-The-Afternoon instead of Sunday's ball game.

This is the logical time to think of yesterday's schoolboys who lie beneath a row of white crosses in Flanders' Field. This is the time to ask ourselves whether we want Peace or whether we want a new Flanders' Field with its white crosses marking the last resting places of schoolboys who were trained for future wars by twirling glittering batons.

—Al S. WAXMAN (East Side Journal)

On The Battlefield

In the line no one now slept at night . . . One day we were told that an attack was planned for the following day, but it was postponed, so it was therefore possible to count on at least one more day of life. Those who have not seen active service as we saw it cannot conceive what joy that was. Even a single hour that could be counted on was much to be thankful for. To be able to say, towards dawn, an hour before the attack: 'Well, I can sitll sleep for another half-hour, and then I shall wake up and smoke a cigarette, boil a cup of coffee and drink it sip by sip, and smoke another cigarette,' would seem almost equivalent to planning out a whole life-time of pleasant occupation.

* * *

I could not have missed him, I could have fired a thousand rounds at that range and never have missed once. All I had to do was to press the trigger and he would have fallen dead. The certainty that his life depended solely on my will made me hesitate. What I had in front of me was a man . . . a man! . . . Could I fire like this at a few paces on a man—as if he were a wild boar?

I began to think that perhaps I ought not to do so. I reasoned like this: To lead a hundred, even a thousand, men against another hundred, or thousand, was one thing; but to detach one man from the rest and say to him, as it were: 'Don't move, I'm going to shoot you. I'm going to kill you' —that was different. Entirely different. To fight is one thing, but to kill a man is another. And to kill him like that is to murder him.

—Emilio LUSSU in "Road to Exile."

* * *

Church, Bank and Armory form a partnership to spread upon the nations Darkness, Misery and Death.

—A. BLANQUI

»» POETRY ««

Vain-Glory

Damned to the lowest depth of Hell
I would consign those cruel cowards
That through vile and cunning course
Plot foul and horrid war for POWER.
Nor spider nor venomous snake
Crawling in slime could act or plan
Deeds more loathsome than a man
Who thus destroys his brothers' sons.

Dorothy FAY

Hitler

In after years when
Historians write the story of
To-day, Hitler will grimace on
The horizon of time like an ugly face
In the picture books of eternity.

Weapons

The scientist in the
Silence of his laboratory
Has won greater victories with
His test tubes than all the battles
Grim visaged field marshals have
Won with siege guns.

Hell

Hell is on the
Battlefield where cannons roar and
Men are torn to pieces for vulture food . . .
Hell is down in Georgia when the night mob drags a negro from his cabin and burns him at the stake for a crime committed by a white deputy sheriff.

William Allen WARD

Railway Train

I

Thou art but the genius, the fabled giant at the command of Aladin, our unprincipled commercial magnets of the big belly.

And the magic lamp which he rubs to acquire your presence and your untiring efforts and the efforts of all mankind.

Is the round, flat and shiney disk, a gold eagle of the United States of America.

A gold eagle of the land of eagles, and of which greatest by far is that of corrupt commerce:
The setter of wages
the former of prices
the eagle that preys upon the people,

Yet—as the great eagles of our western mountain craigs prey upon the animals and fouls of the open plains.

II

Thou art a reptile, a dragon, a bewitched monster of the era of glamour and halerious living.

A beast of prey, devourer of the broad oceans of waving wheat; of the cotton belts;

The fruit orchards; the corn fields, parasite upon the lives of men.

As you speed over the country-side, through city, and village, and along sea-coast, belching black smoke, poluting the crystaline air; shreaking, wailing through the night, you behold the domain you have conquered for your Aladin.

For the Aladin without scruples, without principles but with the round, flat and shiney gold eagle of the United States of America.

J. C. CREWS

BOOK REVIEWS

TERROR IN RUSSIA? by Upton Sinclair and Eugene Lyons, Richard Smith, N. Y., 1938.

This small book which comes as a result of Lyons' masterpiece, "Assignment to Utopia, U. S. S. R.," is an attempt by Sinclair to defend, as a fellow traveler, the party line which declares that Russia faces a world in arms against her and therefore any method of defense is justified.

There is no doubt that Sinclair, more than any other American author, has written books that will live as bells to awaken youth to radical thought. But when it comes to following Sinclair into his support of Wilson, EPIC, Roosevelt, and now Stalin, the youth would do well to think for themselves. All this is preliminary to the thought that Sinclair does not really answer one objection raised by Lyons. One does not doubt Sinclair's sincerity, but neither can one doubt his gullibility in swallowing the propaganda of the Communists.

Those who have not read Lyons' first book should read it before reading the above articles in the smaller book. Lyons shows that Sinclair did not know his geography when he said that the victims of the manufactured famine occurred in that part of Russia occupied by kulaks, when in fact in that part of the country the kulaks had previously been liquidated.

When Sinclair defended the terrorists of Stalin with the assertion that killing had been "a custom of long standing" in Russia and that we should not judge them too harshly by our western standards, Lyons replied that protesting against killing was also a custom of much longer standing in Russia and elsewhere.

In Russia's predicament any means toward an end seems to be justified by Sinclair. Lyons shows that in the early part of the revolution when there was really a great danger from the allied armies which encircled Russia, Lenin allowed more freedom than Stalin allows now, with less danger. Terrorism would thus seem to be an admission of fear. Sinclair does not answer the charge made by Lyons, and never denied by Communist apologists, that Stalin has continued to furnish oil to Mussolini in his fight against Abbysinia and the Loyalists in Spain. Surely this action alone would prove that Stalin is counter-revolutionary.

Sinclair claims that he has urged the Bolshevists to form their Popular Front years ago. Lyons replies: "If you had been a Russian urging a new line, you would have been very dead by the time Stalin came around to adopting it."

The courageous stand taken by Eugene Lyons today in outlawing himself from the Communist movement is much in contrast to former I. W. W.'s and other radicals with whom he worked in the Sacco-Vanzetti defense, who have become "pie-cards" in the Communist Party or in one of their innocent organizations. Ammon A. HENNACY

John Dos Passos and His Critics

Literary criticism, in these curious times, is almost entirely divorced from literary values. Save for some honorable exceptions, the critics, especially in New York, suscribe to this simple formula: tell us how a man votes, and we'll tell you how he writes.

A case in point is that of John Dos Passos, who lives in Provincetown and whose work I have been following with interest since the publication twenty years ago of "Three Soldiers," the first novel written by an American which told the approximate truth about war and made the Guy Empeys of that period look like perfumed apologists for mass murder.

"Three Soldiers" told the story of a group of young men of widely varied backgrounds and beliefs who were tossed into the world conflict. It told of the clash between their individual intelligences and the prevailing hysteria and hokum of the time. It was, in essence, the old, forever significant drama of man's integrity assailed from many quarters by the pressure of the mob.

This motif is implicit in the later works of John Dos Passos, especially in the three novels now compressed into a single volume, "U. S. A." Because many of the characters in the books are sailors, workmen, I. W. W. organizers, etc., and because class conflict is a recurring theme, Dos Passos was warmly received by the comrades on the left.

With appalling suddenness, tribute changed to denunciation after the recent publication of Dos Passos' latest novel, "Adventures of a Young Man." Method and material are much akin to those in the earlier books; writing is of the same level, but with a few exceptions the work has been denounced as trivial, sloppy, cowardly—and "Fascistic."

The reaction is inspired by the fact that in "Adventures of a Young Man" the central figure, an organizer in the mining fields, revolts against domination by the Communist Party line and, even though he yields his life on the side of the Spanish loyalists, is disillusioned by the tactics of the party in Spain. The book's deductions are, of course, open to debate. But the critics who belong to or are influenced by the official party did not ask questions but hurled epithets.

Curious how often the American Stalinists raise the cry of "red-baiting." Yet they have few equals in the art of hurling mud. Even Elliot Paul, a fine writer who should know better, devoted a full page in the New Masses to Dos Passos. Not literary criticism but sheer and foul name-calling.

Yesterday I called on Dos Passos and asked him for his literary credo. He referred me to his answer to a questionaire printed in the current issue of the Partisan Review. Dos Passos wrote, in part:

"My sympathies lie with the private in the front line against the brass hat; with the hodcarrier against the strawboss, or the walking delegate for the matter; with the laboratory worker against the stuffed shirt in a mortarboard . . . . As I have come to believe firmly that in politics the means tend to turn out to be more important than the ends, I think that the more our latent pragmatism and our cynicism in regard to ideas is stimulated the safer we will be . . ."

—Ernest L. MEYER in the New York Post.

HUMANITY ON THE CHESS-BOARD

Samuel Polinov

I may as well confess right at the start that I know nothing about the art of playing chess. In fact, I wouldn't even know how to arrange the chess pieces on the board. My own speculation is that if Mr. Capablanca ever tried to engage me in a game of chess, he would have a swell walk-over.

I recall, though, having witnessed a chess game between two amateurish but very skillfull players. (At least they gave that impression by their poise at every move.) It was the most solemn observance I have ever seen. The two contestants sat opposite each other, their rigid faces buried gravely on the chess pieces which were standing, soldier-like, in their assigned positions. So tense was the situation, I thought for a moment the faces of the two players might crack from the strain. Indeed, at that particular moment it seemed life and death depended upon a crucial move contemplated by one or the other. Finally one seemed to have succeeded in making a very strategic move whereby a whole army of the little soldiers was surrounded and almost annihilated. The victor then rose full of radiant smiles, while the other remained in his position, with face hanging down in disgrace as the result of the defeat.

Now, I am one of many millions witnessing a chess tournament which is being played on an international scale. It is a championship match between the shrewdest players (politicians) of the world, with the universe used as a chess-board and humanity serving as chess pieces. Each contestant is very cautious, watching carefully the next move of his opponent while humanity, like those ebony pieces on the chess-board, allows itself to be moved by the crafty masters from position to position. Sometimes these human "pieces" are dragged from one end of the board to the next; sometimes they are carried off into enemy positions; sometimes a master's hand disqualifies them as incompetents and sometimes they are erased from the board altogether . . . As "pieces" of wood, ebony or ivory, their calling is only to serve as pawns in the hands of clever strategists.

To people of intelligence, reason and of sober mentality, this question oftentimes penetrates the mind: What are men really? Are they living creatures delivered into this world of ours by some Intelligent Power (be it God, Devil or some other Fool . . .) to think, to live and act as rational human beings, or are they made up of some clay matter to be shoved and knocked about like those playing toys on the chess-board?

When we glance at the international game which is now being played by the great master-minds of the universe and how the "men" pieces are being moved about or shoved away like those chips on a roulette, we can only deduct that the human race in general is either mentally deficient or is just naturally incompetent to behave as independent human beings. (We make this assertion nothwithstanding the triumphant finale in Bethoven's "Immortal Fifth" where man emerges victorious in the struggle with Faith . . .)

An analysis of current events which have so tragically affected peoples in various sections of the universe may prove the assertion very convincingly. First let us consider the tragic destiny that has befallen German Jewry in Hitler's Reich. The inhuman suffering of these people has deeply affected the whole civilized world. It is not known that animals have ever been treated as cruelly as those Jews suffering under Hitler's mad rampage. Yet, lo and behold, these German Jews, who are being driven from their homes, whose property has been confiscated, whose means of sustaining life has been deprived from them and who are otherwise treated as though they were the lowest creatures that ever crawled on our Earth—these very people, so shamefully and barbarically mistreated, do not even raise a voice of protest. Calmly and resignedly they accept all the horrors and humiliations decreed upon them by a caste of Nazi imbeciles, whose only "super-qualities" is the wearing of high boots and the clicking of their heels.

Where, we ask, is the human pride of those people? Why do they not slam the doors in the ugly faces of Hitler's storm-troopers when they come to raid their homes? Why do they not refuse to leave Germany where they have a human right to live? Why do they not refuse to give up their belongings when Hitler's highjackers come to take it from them? Why do they not laugh at those fat-bellied Adolfs and Gertrudes when they snicker at the name of Israel or Sarah?

We know the answer, of course. As an insignificant minority it would be futile for the German Jews to resist persecution; they might, if they did, invoke upon themselves a more severe punishment—if not actual extermination. But here is where man shows himself as the chess-board figure he really is. By his cowardly self-abnegation he actually proves that he needs a "strong hand" to move him about in the universal game of chess-playing.

Let us suppose, for just one moment, that the impending European war has already broken out. (*) Hitler, needing all available man power in such crucial time, suddenly discards his mad theory about racial supremacy and rehabilitates the Jews back into the fold of the German Reich. What do you think would happen? Those German Jews, having endured the vilest outrages at the hands of Hitler and his cohorts, would, without any semblance of doubt, leave behind all bygone indignities and humiliations and join the patriotic ranks of the Swastika to give their life for the glory of Hitler's Germany. They would forget about home, family belongings, even about their own selves as human beings. They would fear nothing; all that would matter would be to know how to suffer—and die, if necessary, —for the honor of Hitler and his fatherland. Fear would never enter their mind so long they can die in patriotic duty.

There is the story. People are ready to bring any sacrifice if and when so ordered by a master.

The same fate affecting German Jewry has also overtaken the Jewish community in Italy. Imitating Hitler, his partner in crime, Mussolini decreed upon the Italian Jews the same discriminating laws that are wrecking the lives of their brethren in Germany.

—*This was written before the outbreak of the War.—Editor.

Even the idiotic race theory was dug out from the Nazi sewer so as to humiliate and degrade the sixty thousand or so Jews in the eyes of the Italian population. The hypocrisy in this move serves a double-lined purpose; first, to show Herr Hitler what a real pal he is when it comes to working hand-in-hand for Fascist ideology—such as harassing and persecuting helpless minorities; and secondly, to fill the coffers of his depleted treasury with the confiscated loot from expelled Jews—which proved a very good boon to Hitler's economic policy.

And how do the Italian Jews react to Il Duce's rapacious laws against them? Curiously enough, they too, imitate their German brethren in silent obedience or in awaiting the moment when they could depart on a "refugee" ship. They, too, dare not stand up as "men", refusing to surrender their homes, belongings—their lives. For lack of courage? No. At a second's notice they would drape themselves in the Fascist flag and gladly give their life for Il Duce, for Fascism, for Italy. They did it in the wilds of Ethiopia, on the battlegrounds of Franco's Spain and would do it wherever they might be called in the future. A thousand times they would die if only given the privilege of again proving their patriotism to Mussolini, or any ruler who would order them to do so.

There is the same story . . .

But why the Jews? The same criterion may be applied to the workers in Germany, Italy, Spain, England, France, Russia, United States, —all over. By order of authoritative rule from army high command they obediently submit to go out killing or get killed, or to forced labor and starvation. By order of Der Fuerer, Il Duce or El Caudillo—(the last one's remains yet to be seen . . .) they trudge into the mines and workshops where they are forced to toil in physical slavery, receiving a pot of porridge in return. By order of these masters they meekly surrender their freedom, their life, the very sense of living as self-respecting human beings.

The reason for such blind obedience may be attributed, as in the case of the Jews, to the helpless state into which they were submerged by an organized, war-like, armed-to-the-teeth military regime. They dare not revolt, or at least resist the "blood and iron" treatment, for fear of the concentration camp or other repressive measures (we are excluding of course, the fine idealists who accept the concentration camp rather than slavery); yet, should the bugle suddenly call for patriotic duty on the field of battle, they would not hesitate one split second to offer their life for national honor as well as for Der Fuerer, or Il Duce, who are complete masters over them.

And here is where we strike our main point of argument: if people are brave enough, and stout-hearted enough to face an enemy's (so to speak) fire at the Maginot, at the Corridor or some such place where hostile armies will gather for battle, when led into it by brass-buttoned commanders, they should possess enough courage and self-reliance to resist the barbaric laws and edicts by a Hitler or Mussolini. Such voluntary sacrifice would go a long ways to undermine Fascistic autocracy—and that may mean the rebirth of a new social order, which may also mean the rebirth of themselves as rightful human beings. There would follow hardships, punishments, yes, but those punishments, however severe, would in no wise compare with the murderous assaults they would be facing on the field of battle, to the horrible death and agony they would suffer from blazing machine-gun fire at the enemy trenches. Besides, living in servitude or in constant fear of the morrow as these people are doomed to live under Hitler, a Mussolini or a Franco is well nigh to spiritual as well as corporal punishment such as they are enduring in meek obedience.

But this is humanity. Be they Jews, Germans, Englishmen, Italians, Frenchmen, Americans, Hotentots, or any of them, they are ever ready to follow courageously on the wildest journey, when driven by force, but are fearful of their own shadow to advance one step when prompted by reason.

And so we see the great statesmen of the international "game", sitting grimly around diplomatic tables, and like those two gents at the chess-board, they move nations and races upon the continent. They are watching, planning, with their skillful minds preoccupied by one single thought—how to outwit each other with a clever move so as to spell defeat for the opponent.

The fate of humanity? Well, perhaps some day men will be awakened by their own conscience and refuse to be pawns in the hands of masters. If that should happen, they might begin playing their own chess game . . . ,

To proclaim as divine all that is grand, just, noble, and beautiful in humanity is to tacitly admit that humanity of itself would have been unable to produce it—that is, that, abandoned to itself, its own nature is miserable, iniquitous, base and ugly.

—Mikhail BAKUNIN

TERROR IN SPAIN

The "Independent News" recently published terrible details about the terror exercised by the Franquists in the province of Gerona (Catalunia). Till April 23th about thirty executions had taken place only in the capital of the province, according to the official statements. In reality the number of the executions counted more than 200. In the prison were on April 23rd between 180 and 200 persons sentenced to death.

The executions are performed on the cemetery. The first person executed in the town was comrade Angosto, militant of the CNT and distributor af "Solidaridad Obrera". Also the historian Carlos Rahola, a Catalan autonomist without a party, and Armengol, leader of the Catalan Left Party (Esquerra) have been executed. Malaret, Vidal and Rivera, who also were members of this organization, have "disappeared". They were well-known industrial employers. The wife of professor Barari has also been sentenced to death. The total number of persons arrested in the town on April 23rd amounts to some 2,000 (the total population is only 23,000). The owner of a cafeteria has been sentenced to six years compulsory work because she had permitted parcels of food from Perpignan to be distributed in her house. Many arrested have been taken to Barcelona and from the majority of them there is no news whatever. In economical and political respect the chaos in the province of Gerona is the most complete.

* * *

In Aid of the Spanish Refugees

Our Spanish Comrades who find themselves now refugees in France are badly in need of material aid. The comrades of Los Angeles have recently held a very successful affair for this purpose, as well as for local work. The share netted for our refugee comrades is $53.20. This was immediately forwarded through such channels as will reach its right destination at the earliest possible moment.

Readers wishing to contribute individually in aiding our Spanish refugee Comrades can do so through MAN!.

* * *

Affair of the Youth Group

Comrades:

Enclosed please you will find a money-order for twenty-five dollars and thirty-five cents. This is the proceeds of the picnic that we gave for MAN! on August 13, 1939. The income was $53.40. The expenses were $34.05. Total profit—$19.35. Individual contributions—$6.00. Net profit—$25.35.

We hope that in some way our bit aleviates the deficit.

YOUTH GROUP

* * *

Financial Statement

Income: (From Groups and newspaper sales): Local Affair (share)—$53.20; Youth Group (affair of Aug. 13)—$25.35; Youngstown (share of affair)—$7.50; Mishawaka, Ind., on list)—$5.00; Collected by Yetta Weinberg—$1.00; Newspaper sales: Celia Goldberg ....$3.00 (also one dollar in stamps), Seattle C. L.—$2.50; Mohegan Colony—$1.00; Los Angeles—.50c. E. Michaels (England)—$3.25.

From Individuals: Carl Walters—$2.50; Two dollars: Chung Shih, D. Lanig (Australia), Luis Battaglio, Marco Loi, A. Lagrotta, A. De Toffol. One Dollar: Frank Janni, A. Sereiko, H. J. Stuart, P. Cane, Vera Heinert, L. Keyser, Il Singolo, Jim Myers, Sin Chan, Hing Joe, G. Oliver, Peter Ness, Anna Rigotty, Bob Portesi, Vegetariano; Fifty Cents. D. C. Tom, W. Chan, S. Firano, Manneli.

Total Income	$134.30
Total Expenditures	$99.58
Deficit Previous Issue	$77.30
Present Deficit	$42.67